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ROUND TABLE

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THE MOSCOW PACTS: ISSUES and PROBLEMS

A Radio Discussion by WALTER JOHNSON
SIR BERNARD PARES *and* QUINCY WRIGHT

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Around the Round Table . . . .

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SIR BERNARD PARES, professor of Russian history at the University of London, is at the present time visiting professor of Russian history at the University of Wisconsin. He was educated at Harrow School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He served for a time as a special correspondent in Russia for the *Spectator* and the *Westminster Gazette*. Sir Bernard was professor of Russian history at Liverpool University until 1919, when he went to the University of London, where he has taught Russian language and history as well as serving as the director of the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies. He is a foundation member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He is the author of chapters on Russia in the *Cambridge Modern History*, the author of *A History of Russia*, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchs*, and *Russia* (American ed., 1943).

QUINCY WRIGHT, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, received his undergraduate training at Lombard College and was granted his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Illinois. Before coming to the University of Chicago, he taught political science at Harvard University and the University of Minnesota. In 1918 and 1921 he served as a special assistant on international law to the United States Navy Department. He is a member of the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and the author of many books on international relations, among which are: *Enforcement of International Law through Municipal Law in the United States* (1916); *Control of American Foreign Relations* (1922); *Mandates under the League of Nations* (1930); *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* (1935); and the recent authoritative two-volume work, *A Study of War* (1942).

THE MOSCOW PACTS: ISSUES and PROBLEMS

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MR. JOHNSON: In discussing the issues and the problems of the Moscow Pacts, the first question that naturally arises is what the Moscow Pacts are. For instance, we know that for fourteen days there was a conference in Moscow and that on November 1 the results of this conference were released to the people.[1]

SIR BERNARD: The great thing which had never happened before was that the three representatives of the United States, of Britain, and of Russia were all there together.

MR. WRIGHT: Mr. Hull, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Molotov signed these historic documents. Besides that, there is the fact that the Chinese ambassador signed one of them.

There were five documents on this occasion. The joint communiqué signed by the three foreign ministers stated a spirit of collaboration and the means which would be taken to implement the agreements.

MR. JOHNSON: The second statement was the Four-Power Pact, which agreed to establish an international organization for the maintenance of world peace.

MR. WRIGHT: Then there were two declarations—one dealing with and referring to the restoration of independence to Austria and the second dealing with and promising more democracy in Italy.

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[1] The complete texts of the joint communiqué issued at the Moscow Conference and of the four documents issued in connection with the Conference will be found beginning on page 19.

MR. JOHNSON: The last declaration also dealt with war criminals and atrocities.

MR. WRIGHT: That was interesting because it was signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin.

MR. JOHNSON: The second question that arises is what the significance is of the pacts. For instance, if the meeting had broken up in discord, I think that we would all agree that it would have been a major disaster for the United Nations. Sir Bernard, what is the significance of the pacts to you?

SIR BERNARD: We in Britain already have had an alliance with Soviet Russia which was signed for twenty years and which will last on until it is denounced by either party a year before.

I think that it was all important to us that there should be a meeting between the three, because it is only the three, as Mr. Eden said directly afterward, that can secure world peace.

MR. WRIGHT: It seems to me that these points that you have made, Sir Bernard, add up to the fact that the political victory of the United Nations in the signing of these pacts is as great as the military victory at Kiev. In fact, I think that Premier Stalin indicated this in his speech yesterday, registering the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution.

SIR BERNARD: I venture to think that it is the greater victory of the two.

MR. JOHNSON: Wright, wouldn't you agree that, from the standpoint of the United States, this marks the beginning of a real foreign policy—that is, an accord with Russia?

MR. WRIGHT: Yes, I think that it does, indeed. However, I

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would not agree that the United States has not had a foreign policy. Some people have made that statement. It seems to me that the United States has had a foreign policy always but that the great difficulty has been that it has been unwilling to commit itself to use effective means to implement its policy.

MR. JOHNSON: Historically speaking, the United States and Russia have been quite friendly. That was particularly true during the nineteenth century.

MR. WRIGHT: It was especially marked during the period of the American Civil War, when Russia was looked upon as the first European friend by the North.

MR. JOHNSON: It was also marked during the American Revolution, when Russia formed a League of Armed Neutrality which actually aided the United States in winning its independence.

MR. WRIGHT: That is true, although we should not overlook the fact that there have been disagreements in the early part of the twentieth century on the Jewish question, for instance. There were also disagreements which resulted in the prolonged nonrecognition of Russia by the United States on the issue of communism during the 1920's. But, as you say, on the whole the relations of the United States and Russia have been extremely friendly.

MR. JOHNSON: How would you summarize, Sir Bernard, the relations between England and Russia?

SIR BERNARD: Rather striking! One war—a complete muddle—and five alliances, this being the fifth.

MR. JOHNSON: Sir Bernard, you have been to Russia many, many times. I believe you went first in 1898. Why?

SIR BERNARD: I went to see whether Russia could not be a friend of my country. The people in England used to talk loosely about Russia's being a natural enemy, but any Englishman, chiefly British

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traders, who had lived in Russia said that was the biggest nonsense there ever was.

MR. WRIGHT: I think that it is very significant that these agreements make it certain that fighting will be organized in Russia and in Europe among the great powers.

MR. JOHNSON: Then they also make it very important to realize that now there will be no separate peace made, which was the only chance that Germany possibly had of winning the war.

MR. WRIGHT: That is a great defeat for Germany, and it must have affected their public opinion.

I should also like to emphasize the significance of China's being a party to the Four-Power Pact. That means that China is recognized as necessary for making an effective peace which will be world-wide.

MR. JOHNSON: Sir Bernard, wouldn't you agree that the inclusion of China in this pact means that Russia, the United States, and Great Britain recognize China as the leading power in the Far East?

SIR BERNARD: I am certain that Russia will be very pleased. The one thing that they have never changed their mind about is their support of China against Japan.

MR. JOHNSON: For instance, during the 1920's, wasn't Russia a great aid to the present government of Chiang Kai-shek?

SIR BERNARD: They have a road—which they have greatly improved—from one of those wonderful new industrial bases in Siberia by which they have been sending in arms to China the whole way through.

MR. JOHNSON: One of the other significant agreements in the Moscow Pacts was the fact that fighting has been organized among the great world powers. For instance, since the pacts, we have noticed the establishment of a United States military commission in Moscow. I believe that Premier Stalin had something to say on this point in his speech yesterday.

MR. WRIGHT: In considering these pacts, there are three stages which are contemplated. The pacts recognize not only collaboration among the powers during the war, they also both recognize collaboration during the transitional period and provide for collaboration in the making of the permanent peace.

MR. JOHNSON: A second step, from the standpoint of fighting, was that the uprisings among the conquered nations have been organized.

SIR BERNARD: May I say, first, about the fighting, that this is the answer to the second front? I would like to put it my own way just for a minute. First, we have talked to Berlin, and we have said, "Unconditional surrender." That is the end of Berlin's hopes of a separate peace. Next we have said, "War criminals are going to be severely dealt with." The Germans will think of that. Then we have settled the disagreements—or, anyhow, the points which were not agreed upon among ourselves. There has been constant talk about the second front, and now that is fully answered. It is settled.

MR. WRIGHT: That seems to be realized, as you say, Johnson, in Stalin's speech. The second front is coming.

Let us turn to this problem of uprisings. It is only too clear that there have been differences, for instance, between Russia and the United States in regard to the two partisan groups in Yugoslavia. It appears that those problems will be ironed out by the consultations arranged for.

SIR BERNARD: I think that Mr. Eden had long since been talking to Maisky before he left London, because it was quite essential that there should not be two different rival uprisings in any given country. That would mean, as soon as Hitler was gone, civil war between the rival factions. It was essential that the major powers should agree as to whom they were going to back. That is what they have now done in London.

MR. JOHNSON: Then it is your definite feeling that such up-

risings, as in Yugoslavia, have been settled definitely by these three world powers?

SIR BERNARD: Well, they have put up the organization, as you know, to do that. They have not settled it, but they have settled that they are going to make a joint decision, and that is everything.

MR. WRIGHT: You spoke, Sir Bernard, of organizations for accomplishing objectives. I think that one of the points which should be emphasized is the actual operative commissions which have been established by these pacts.

MR. JOHNSON: Wright, many peace agreements have been signed before, but, generally, they were not worth the paper that they were written on. This Moscow Declaration, as you indicate, however, is capable of growth because it has certain implementation.

What to you, Sir Bernard, are the important types of implementation that came along with the Moscow Pacts?

SIR BERNARD: First, it is settled—and there is already an advisory committee in London—to follow, as they say, the development of the war and, no doubt, to lead on to the development of any problems going on toward the peace. That means, among other things, the coordination of military effort which was so essential. There is also a second commission.

MR. WRIGHT: Just a minute, Sir Bernard. I think that it should be emphasized that this commission is only among three powers. For instance, France is not included in the European Advisory Commission.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, that raises the very interesting question of why France was not added to this European Advisory Commission.

SIR BERNARD: I can say only that the one thing quite certain about the occupied countries is that they will come out of this war quite different from the way they were when they went into it. The one thing which has been settled so far in Moscow, and re-

peated yesterday by Stalin, is that every one of these countries will have the chance of choosing its own government.

MR. JOHNSON: But, on the other hand, De Gaulle has been looked upon, at least in this country, as the great voice and leader of a struggling France that is now again seeking independence. It thus seems rather strange that De Gaulle, or someone from the French Committee on National Liberation, was not appointed to the European Advisory Commission.

SIR BERNARD: I would say that he is a potential voice—a very powerful potential voice—but that what France is going to do in the long run can be settled only when we can begin to know what France thinks.

MR. WRIGHT: We have to recognize that the French Committee on Liberation has been only incompletely recognized. Furthermore, the contribution of France in a military way will, at least for a considerable time, be very much less than that of the other three powers. Therefore, it seems to me natural that the European Advisory Commission, which deals primarily with the military prosecution of the war, should have included only the three.

MR. JOHNSON: But, on the other hand, possibly the French underground would be more eager to cause trouble if they knew that they had representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

SIR BERNARD: That is so, and it is a difficult question. I do not see how you can settle it at this particular moment. But it will have to be settled at some time.

MR. JOHNSON: We have mentioned two types of implementation for the Moscow Pact—the European Advisory Commission and the Italian Advisory Commission in the Mediterranean. What about this second one?

SIR BERNARD: The second one, to my mind, has a geographical significance. We are in Italy. We have a French representative on

the Italian Commission because we are in Algeria. We shall have an Italian one. It has already been said that they are ready to add a Yugoslav—that is, in my view, when we get to Yugoslavia—and a Greek when we get to Greece. But, beyond that, they have also made a very interesting reference to Austria, which, remember, has the same frontier as Italy and is on the other side of the Brenner Pass.

MR. JOHNSON: Sir Bernard, that is the third large question that our listeners would like to hear discussed on this program.

MR. WRIGHT: Before we come to that, Johnson, perhaps we ought to mention that there is a third provision for implementation, namely, the statement that the three powers will continue to hold tripartite consultations of representatives of the three governments in the respective capitols, through the existing diplomatic channels. I assume that that contemplates further meetings of the type which has just been held in Moscow.

SIR BERNARD: That is right; that is very important.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, that statement is very important. But now let us turn to this Austrian question. It came as a great surprise, I think, to the American public to see Austria included in the Moscow Pacts. Austria had been forgotten in the American press since about 1938. Then suddenly it is here in this pact. How would you explain that?

MR. WRIGHT: It is a formal application of the Stimson Doctrine. The statement in the pact is that Austria—the first country to fall victim to Hitlerite aggression—shall be liberated from German domination. The annexation imposed upon Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938, is regarded as null and void. It strikes me as significant that the pact-makers should have underlined the fact that this was the first country to fall a victim and that its annexation by Germany was null and void. That may mean that all the subsequent aggressions by Germany will receive the same treatment.

MR. JOHNSON: In other words, the Austrian inclusion starts a precedent to which all conquered countries may look. Are there not other aspects to this Austrian question?

SIR BERNARD: I think so. I take it that, before there ever was Hitler, some of the Austrians would have wished to be "anschlussed" —that is, to join Austria to Germany. I am sure that they ceased wishing anything of the kind when Hitler broke his way into Austria.

We have now given a preliminary pledge to Austria that we shall recognize her independence, but, more than that, we have asked her already to prepare to fight for it. Again I go on to the geographical line. When we get into Austria, we want the partisans of Austria to do as much as possible to help us.

MR. WRIGHT: There was a clear bid for partisan action in Austria in the final clause of the Austrian Declaration, which stated that account will inevitably be taken of Austria's own contribution to her liberation.

MR. JOHNSON: The problem centering around Italy also raises a very important question for our discussion. The Moscow Pacts stated that "it is essential that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism."

That assumes—the phrase "more democratic"—that the present government of Italy is democratic.

SIR BERNARD: The first thing that we have settled, as has already been mentioned, is that every country is going to choose its own government. There may not be exactly the same views among the three major allies as to what we should like to see in Italy, but we have said that Italy is going to choose.

There is possibly a bit more sympathy for the House of Savoy in my country, in England, than there is in yours. But, anyhow, we are all quite clear that there must be an absolute break with fascism,

and we would like to see in the Italian government people who never had any share in it whatsoever.

MR. JOHNSON: The statement against fascism is excellent, but it is hard to see the assumption that the present government of Italy is democratic.

MR. WRIGHT: I think that we should notice the statement in a communiqué, in which the Allied governments expressed themselves in favor of the restoration of democracy in Italy. In that place they seemed to have suggested that democracy went under completely (and, of course, it did) in the period of Mussolini. Perhaps the later phrase referring to "more democracy" means that, since Mussolini went out, there have been a few vestiges of democracy creeping into the Italian government.

MR. JOHNSON: It would seem to me from the statements that Count Sforza has made since he has been in Italy that he would not agree that the present government has some democratic aspects.

SIR BERNARD: The great question in my mind that is settled is that we are going to settle these things *together*. We have not yet said *how*.

MR. WRIGHT: There is another interesting point in the Italian Declaration—namely, the explicit recognition that freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press, and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups. That very explicit recognition of democratic freedoms, similar to those in our Constitution in the Bill of Rights, is very significant, it seems to me, and it is particularly significant that the Russian government should have approved this declaration.

SIR BERNARD: I quite agree.

MR. JOHNSON: Do you think that Russia's agreeing to these freedoms is significant from the internal Russian picture at all?

SIR BERNARD: Do you mean as to what Russia wants in the war?

MR. JOHNSON: Not necessarily. Take the questions of freedom of speech and freedom of religion, for instance.

SIR BERNARD: In religion, it is very interesting. I am clear on two things: first, that religion has won in Russia, because I know it to be quite impossible to crush Russian religion by violence; secondly, that Stalin has had the sense to see it. The last thing that he has done is certainly most surprising.

Peter the Great did not care to have any rival authority, and he abolished the post of head of the church, called "Patriarch," in order to have no rival. Stalin has just consented to the revival of the Patriarchate. That means that the church can have its own head, who can speak in its own name. That is most remarkable.

MR. WRIGHT: Perhaps we can say that this change in regard to religious freedom in Russia may indicate a beginning toward a realization of provisions which were in the Soviet constitution of 1936, recognizing all of the Bill of Rights, and Premier Stalin's statement on several occasions that one of the objectives of the war is the restoration of democratic freedoms.

SIR BERNARD: I like your reference to that constitution of 1936. It repeated, word for word, over and over again, the demands of Russia during the great liberal period which created a national assembly, elected at first, by the way, by universal suffrage. There followed, as you probably know, the murder of Stalin's dearest friend, Kirov; and one way or another that was adjourned.

All I would like to say, and all I would dare to say, about the question you have raised is that if I go to Russia now, which I often do (I was there on the verge of this war), the thing I find is that there is far more "guts" in the Russians. They are all braced up, and they speak in quite a different way from their officials. They want to know why things are so and so. They would not have done that under the old government, because it was simply asking for trouble. That to my mind is, in its way, a step toward democracy.

Mr. Johnson: There is another question that is very important —the permanent post-war organization that was established by the Moscow Pacts. For instance, the Moscow Pacts recognized two periods—a transitional period and a period later on for complete post-war collaboration.

Mr. Wright: In regard to the transitional period, the Four-Power Agreement—and I want to underline that this was the agreement which was participated in by China also—stated that for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security, pending the reestablishment of law and order and inauguration of a system of general security, the signing countries will consult with one another and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations. That statement of "joint action" implies that positive measures are to be undertaken under the responsibility of the four powers during the transitional period.

Mr. Johnson: A second statement of importance for the transitional period was the remark that the people who commit the war atrocities will be brought to trial. Do you see any problems in that?

Sir Bernard: I see something which is a good deal better than what we had before. I see a quite clear indication of how it is to be done. You will notice that this comes directly from the three leaders of states and not from the foreign secretaries, so that it is agreed already; and they are going to send these war criminals back to the countries in which their crimes were committed in order to be tried.

Mr. Wright: There is this significance, also, that they undoubtedly fear that, as Hitler's empire crumbles up, there will be a release of new atrocities of greater magnitude. In order to persuade at least some of the Germans not to indulge in such action, they have suggested that those who are not now completely sunk in the mire of crime ought to desist from committing atrocities in order to evade

this punishment which will certainly be carried out according to the declaration.

MR. JOHNSON: Sir Bernard, in the transition period and in the post-war period to follow, just what does Russia want?

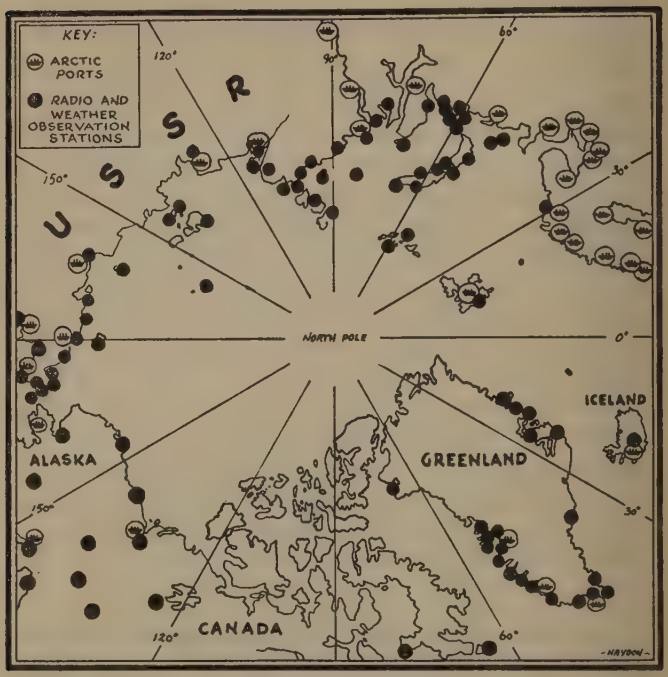
SIR BERNARD: I think this. I think that Stalin is essentially Russian. He has hardly been outside his own country ever. What he wants is to get peace—a permanent peace—in order to be able to go on with his favorite task, which is that of domestic construction. I think that he will ask to have those frontiers which give security to Russia. I do not think, for instance, that he will abandon Russian population to any other power. I do not think, after a year's siege of Leningrad, that he will consent to have the frontier of Leningrad a few miles off, where, by the way, the Finns have been fighting with the Germans.

On the other hand, I do not think that he will want Finland. I am sure that he will not want Warsaw. I am sure that he will not want Prague. If he did, he would be very foolish, because he would turn a useful buffer against Germany into a bitter enemy. What he wants to do is to get back to his own country. The man has done marvels. In five years, between 1928 and 1933, he founded no less than ninety-six big new industrial towns, mostly in Siberia.

MR. JOHNSON: Sir Bernard, Russia's position is not unlike that of the United States in 1815. We faced westward; we wanted peace to develop our own great Middle West. That, as I understand, is what Russia wants today.

SIR BERNARD: That is very interesting. May I say a word or two about that?

First, there is the global map with which you are now familiar. The first time I saw the global map was over thirty years ago in Russia. It was the work of that great chemist and public man, Mendelyeev. He said, "Don't draw your map of Russia as if you were over the Equator. Draw it as if you were over the North Pole. You look down; you see a sea—it is the Arctic Ocean. There are



three countries on it. They are Russia, the United States (Alaska, that is), and Canada—almost next door to one another." In fact, at one point they are only two miles apart, because you have one of the Diomede Islands, and they have the other.

Mr. Wright: This map recalls our present air maps which center around the North Pole.

Mr. Johnson: Let us come to a very important part of this discussion—the role of the United States. There is no doubt, I think, that the specter of the United States Senate was present in

Moscow. How far committed is the United States to post-war collaboration?

MR. WRIGHT: It is very significant that both the House of Representatives, in the Fulbright Resolution, and the Senate, in the Connally Resolution, have committed themselves to American participation in permanent international organization. This was at the time that this pact was being given to the world.

MR. JOHNSON: The Connally Resolution, as amended by the Pepper-Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill group, includes an assertion from the Moscow Pacts.[2]

MR. WRIGHT: That explicit inclusion of the provisions of the Moscow Pacts dealing with permanent organization is very significant.

MR. JOHNSON: I think that the country owes a great debt of gratitude to the senators, like Pepper and Ball and so on, who fought to prevent the weak Connally Resolution from being passed before the Moscow Pacts actually came out.

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[2] The text of the Connally post-war resolution, approved by the Senate by a vote of 85 to 5 on November 5, 1943, states:

"*Resolved*, That the war against all our enemies be waged until complete victory is achieved.

"That the United States cooperate with its comrades-in-arms in securing a just and honorable peace.

"That the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world.

"That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"That, pursuant to the Constitution of the United States, any treaty made to effect the purposes of this resolution, on behalf of the government of the United States with any other nation or any association of nations, shall be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur."

MR. WRIGHT: That was important, and especially in view of the degree to which the Moscow Pacts explicitly declared the nature of the permanent organization, referring to nonaggression and disarmament and collaboration of all powers—not merely an alliance.

MR. JOHNSON: It should be remembered that some of those senators who voted for the amended Connally Resolution said that they considered it to be meaningless and that it did not commit them in the future.

MR. WRIGHT: That is true, and it may be that some of them will feel that their consciences will permit them to vote against a treaty which implements these provisions, even though they have joined in the declaration favoring the general principle. Of course, we must not overlook the fact that the resolution in Congress called for a submission of a future treaty for a two-thirds vote to the Senate.

MR. JOHNSON: Gentlemen, I think that we have agreed that the great thing that has come out of the Moscow Pacts has been a spirit of solidarity among the four major world powers and the means to common action on the part of these four powers both for the actual winning of the war and for the maintenance of peace after the war. Of course, this common agreement ends any hope that Germany might have of a separate peace.

It also, we think, marks the implementation of a real foreign policy on the part of the United States and one of close collaboration with Russia. Of course, historically, as we pointed out, the United States and Russia have actually been quite friendly.

As Sir Bernard has indicated, these pacts mean that fighting is now organized. Also, the uprisings among the conquered powers, too, have been organized for the actual winning of the war.

I think that all of us have agreed that the pacts are more than a pact on paper, because they have been implemented by various committees, such as the European Advisory Commission. Since the liberation of Austria—the first to be conquered by Germany—was

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included in the pacts, a precedent for other conquered countries was established. In addition to winning the war and providing for the transition period afterward, an international organization of nations has definitely been planned.

As Sir Bernard has said, what Russia chiefly wants in the post-war period is permanent peace to develop her own great empire in Siberia.

We have also agreed—at least Wright and I—that the American position right now is being watched; that the amended Senate resolution was good; but that some senators have agreed that they are not bound by the fact that they have voted for this resolution. They have indicated that they might not be bound in the future by their vote. There is the danger that such senators might wreck the hope of a peaceful world in the future.

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The Complete

TEXTS OF THE THREE-POWER CONFERENCE

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JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ OF TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE

The conference of Foreign Secretaries of the United States of America, Mr. Cordell Hull; of the United Kingdom, Mr. Anthony Eden; and of the Soviet Union, Mr. V. M. Molotoff, took place at Moscow from the nineteenth to the thirtieth of October, 1943. There were twelve meetings. In addition to the Foreign Secretaries, the following took part in the conference:

For the United States of America: Mr. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador of the United States; Maj. Gen. John R. Deane, United States Army; Mr. H. Hackworth, Mr. James C. Dunn, and experts.

For the United Kingdom: Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Ambassador; Mr. William Strang, Lieut. Gen. Sir Hastings Ismay, and experts.

For the Soviet Union: Marshall K. E. Voroshiloff, Marshal of the Soviet Union; Mr. A. Y. Vyshinski and Mr. M. Litvinoff, Deputy People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs; Mr. V. A. Sergeyeff, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade; Maj. Gen. A. A. Gryzloff of the General Staff, Mr. G. F. Saksin, senior official for People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and experts.

Some Decisions Taken

The agenda included all questions submitted for discussion by the three Governments. Some of the questions called for final decisions, and these were taken. On other questions, after discussion, decisions of principle were taken. These questions were referred for detailed consideration to commissions specially set up for the purpose, or reserved for treatment through diplomatic channels. Other questions again were disposed of by an exchange of views. The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have been in close cooperation in all matters concerning the common war effort, but this is the first time that the Foreign Secretaries of the three Governments have been able to meet together in conference.

In the first place there were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany and her satellites in Europe. Advantage was taken of the presence of military advisers representing the respective Chiefs of Staff in order to discuss definite

military operations with regard to which decisions had been taken and which are already being prepared in order to create a basis for the closest military cooperation in the future between the three countries.

Second only to the importance of hastening the end of the war was the recognition by the three Governments that it was essential in their own national interests and in the interests of all peace-loving nations to continue the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war into the period following the end of hostilities, and that only in this way could peace be maintained and the political, economic and social welfare of their peoples fully promoted.

China Is Joint Signer

This conviction is expressed in a declaration in which the Chinese Government joined during the conference and which was signed by the three Foreign Secretaries and the Chinese Ambassador at Moscow on behalf of their Governments. This declaration published today provides for even closer collaboration in the prosecution of the war and in all matters pertaining to the surrender and disarmament of the enemies with which the four countries are, respectively, at war. It set forth the principles upon which the four Governments agree that a broad system of international cooperation and security should be based. Provision is made for the inclusion of all other peace-loving nations, great and small, in this system.

The conference agreed to set up machinery for ensuring the closest cooperation between the three Governments in the examination of European questions arising as the war develops. For this purpose the conference decided to establish in London a European advisory commission to study these questions and to make joint recommendations to the three Governments.

Provision was made for continuing, when necessary, the tripartite consultations of representatives of the three Governments in the respective capitals through the existing diplomatic channels.

The conference also agreed to establish an advisory council for matters relating to Italy, to be composed in the first instance of representatives of their three Governments and of the French Committee of National Liberation. Provision is made for addition to this council of representatives of Greece and Yugoslavia in view of their special interests arising out of aggressions of Fascist Italy upon their territory during the present war. This council will deal with day-to-day questions other than military preparations and will make recommendations designed to coordinate Allied policy with regard to Italy.

Affirm Stand on Italy

The three Foreign Secretaries considered it appropriate to reaffirm, by a declaration published today, the attitude of the Allied Governments in favor of the restoration of democracy in Italy.

The three Foreign Secretaries declared it to be the purpose of their Governments to restore the independence of Austria. At the same time they reminded Austria that in the final settlement account will be taken of efforts that Austria may make toward its own liberation. The declaration on Austria is published today.

The Foreign Secretaries issued at the conference a declaration by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin containing a solemn warning that at the time of granting any armistice to any German Government, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have had any connection with atrocities and executions in countries overrun by German forces will be taken back to the countries in which their abominable crimes were committed to be charged and punished according to the laws of those countries.

In an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding which characterized all the work of the conference, consideration was also given to other important questions. These included not only questions of a current nature but also questions concerning treatment of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, economic cooperation and assurance of general peace.

* * *

JOINT FOUR-NATION DECLARATION

The governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of Jan. 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

Conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

Recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments;

Jointly declare:

1.—That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2.—That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3.—That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4.—That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest

practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

5.—That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6.—That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7.—That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

* * *

DECLARATION REGARDING ITALY

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have established that their three governments are in complete agreement that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism and all its evil influence and configuration shall be completely destroyed and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States and United Kingdom declare that the action of their governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy.

In furtherance of this policy in the future the Foreign Secretaries of the three governments are agreed that the following measures are important and should be put into effect:

1.—It is essential that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by inclusion of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed fascism.

2.—Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of press and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups.

3.—All institutions and organizations created by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed.

4.—All Fascist or pro-Fascist elements shall be removed from the administration and from institutions and organizations of a public character.

5.—All political prisoners of the Fascist regime shall be released and accorded full amnesty.

6.—Democratic organs of local government shall be created.

7.—Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice.

In making this declaration the three Foreign Secretaries recognize that so long as active military operations continue in Italy the time at which it is possible to give full effect to the principles stated above will be determined by the Commander-in-Chief on the basis of instructions received through the combined chiefs of staff.

The three governments, parties to this declaration, will, at the request of any one of them, consult on this matter. It is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government.

* * *

DECLARATION ON AUSTRIA

The governments of the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and the United States of America are agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination.

They regard the annexation imposed on Austria by Germany on March 15, 1938, as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any changes effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighboring States which will be faced with similar problems to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace.

Austria is reminded, however, that she has a responsibility, which she cannot evade, for participation in the war at the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation.

* * *

STATEMENT ON ATROCITIES

Signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill *and* Premier Stalin

The United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by Hitlerite forces

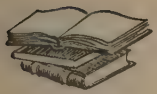
in many of the countries they have overrun and from which they are now being steadily expelled. The brutalities of Nazi domination are no new thing, and all peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror. What is new is that many of these territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating powers and that in their desperation the recoiling Hitlerites and Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced with particular clearness by monstrous crimes on the territory of the Soviet Union which is being liberated from Hitlerites and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly, the aforesaid three Allied powers, speaking in the interests of the thirty-two United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

At the time of granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries, having regard especially to invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece, including Crete and other islands; to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Italy.

Thus, Germans who take part in wholesale shooting of Polish officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian or Norwegian hostages or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged. Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies.



More on This Topic

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PARES, SIR BERNARD, "On the Fear of Russia," *New Republic*, April 19, 1943. *Analyzes the political consequences.*

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WELLES, SUMNER, "Safeguarding Our Interests," *Vital Speeches*, November 1, 1943. *States his views on the need for international organization to maintain world order.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion what is the significance of the Moscow Pacts? Do you regard the present American and British relations with Russia as satisfactory? Is this the beginning of real collaboration with Russia?

2. What are the national interests of the United States? Do they find expression in the various Moscow declarations? Does the passage of the Connally Resolution give Senate approval to the general conclusions of the Moscow Pacts?

3. Do you think that a four-power alliance of Britain, Russia, China, and the United States can preserve world peace? What are some of the sources of friction and what are the common interests of these four powers?

4. Do you think Russia will want to go beyond its frontiers and dominate Germany and the Balkans? What are Russia's frontiers legally and historically? Should the United States recognize the Soviet incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the U.S.S.R.?

5. What are the facts of the Russian-Polish dispute? What should be the policy of the United States toward Russian-Finnish peace terms? What are the Russian claims in the Balkans?

6. Do you think Russia directly or indirectly will exercise an influence on the future of neighboring states after the war? Will such influence result in the spread of communism? Should the American foreign policy be one of preventing revolutions in the defeated countries?

7. What is a democratic government? What policy toward Italian fascism is adopted? To what extent does the Moscow Declaration on Italy put the "four freedoms" into effect?

8. Do you think that executive agreements, approved by majorities of both houses of Congress, insure a more democratic check on foreign policy than the constitutional requirement of a two-thirds approval of a Senate quorum? Has the Senate really committed itself to support American participation in an effective international organization? What sort of international framework of organization is expressed and implied in the Moscow Pacts?

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City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles	City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles
1:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME					
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350
12:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME					
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and			Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920			
11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME					
Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240
10:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME					
Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			
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Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
			Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
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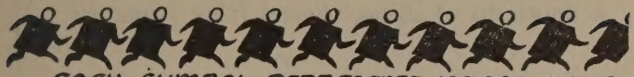

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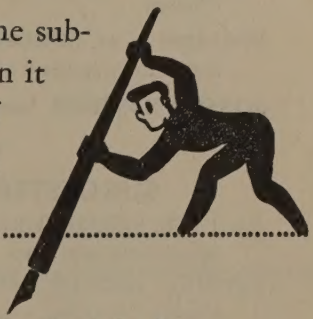

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A University of Chicago Round Table Broadcast

NOVEMBER 14, 1943

POST-WAR AIR POLICY

•

WILLIAM B. BENTON, Vice-President, University of Chicago

WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN, Special Aviation Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce

JOSEPH KASTNER, Senior Editor of *Life* Magazine

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

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